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From this careful analysis the author concludes that the Revolution, viewed as a whole, had no socialism in it; that no party or public body had a socialistic program; that from 1789 to 1799 each government respected the existing social order and individual property; that socialistic ideas were sporadic and individual and those held by Jacobins and "Babouvistes" were utopian rather than practical, and that the whole movement was distinctly individualistic and the results were the same.

While M. Lichtenberger is certainly to be congratulated for having done such a scholarly piece of work and for having made such a valuable contribution to our knowledge of that period, he cannot be said to have settled the question.

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Democracy: A Study of Government. By JAMES H. HYSLOP, Ph. D., Professor of Logic and Ethics in Columbia University. Pp. xiii, 300. Price, \$1.50. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1899.

From the start this book piques the reader's curiosity. It is "affectionately dedicated to all those who despise politics," yet two-thirds of its pages are devoted to what purport to be "practical remedies." Sir Henry Maine, Mr. Lecky and many a writer of less ability have given us searching criticism of the democracy of the present and gloomy forebodings as to the democracy of the future, but in constructive criticism most discussions of this theme have been woefully lacking.

It is of interest to note that "a study of the poverty problem on the one hand and of the exacting and impossible demands of civic duty on the other," served as the somewhat unusual line of approach to this attempt to frame a comprehensive scheme of government. In the brief "Introduction" Mr. Lecky's "Democracy and Liberty" calls forth some interesting comparisons of the viewpoints of de Tocqueville with those of the more recent critics of democracy, with a discussion of the causes of change. About eighty pages are devoted to setting forth "the nature of the problem." The movement is here less steady than in the rest of the book. The Aristotelian analysis is condemned for centering attention upon the number instead of upon the *kind* of rulers. Some very interesting pages are given to the influence exerted upon political ideas by Christianity, and especially by the doctrine of the immortality of the soul, substituting the idea of right, of legitimacy, for that of power in the guidance of conduct. The theories of Bodin and of Hobbes are discussed, with clear emphasis upon Hobbes's failure to distinguish power *and* responsibility

from irresponsible power. Yet until the present time attempts to realize this responsibility, whether through elective tenure or through the limitations of written or unwritten constitutions, have for the most part failed. We must "separate the idea of freedom to act from that of irresponsibility."

Most reformers are men of a single idea. The millennium is to be ushered in by the referendum, by the single tax, or by state ownership of the agents of production. To Professor Hyslop's mind, on the contrary, our present ills are due to the fact that we are trying to solve complicated problems with machinery far too simple and primitive. Relief therefore must be expected from no single reform; "what is needed is the idea of responsibility and the division of labor in government, the integration and differentiation of function in the operations of government."

After pointing out eight reforms much needed by the German language, an American humorist declared that "these were perhaps all he could be expected to name for nothing." Professor Hyslop is more liberal: he presents us with *nine* remedies for the present disorders of democracy. Admitting that present tendencies point to the wide introduction and thorough trial of the initiative and referendum, he subjects them to a searching criticism; direct legislation he rejects as an institution, which, "though it may be honest and mean well, cannot *govern*." His own prescription is as follows (p. 141-42):

1. A permanent official class in subordinate administrative positions.
2. A court of impeachment and removal.
3. The extension of executive powers of appointment and influence over legislation.
4. The establishment of an agency partly for limiting the abuse of executive powers in appointing, and partly for preventing congressional usurpations and interference in appointments by means of political bargains and intimidation.
5. The adoption of the English system of representation, with some modifications.
6. The further differentiation of legislative functions so as to bring the duties of the legislature within the limits of intelligent performance.
7. Compulsory service for all persons whether appointed or elected.
8. The appointment of *all* judiciary incumbents.
9. The differentiation of the elective franchise.

In justification of so elaborate a scheme it is insisted that the complexity of the problem makes any single reform inadequate; as regards its practicability, "everything here suggested is the adoption or modification of functions and institutions already in use."

The limits of this review will permit but a hasty reference to two of these points. Radical treatment is prescribed for the difficulties now experienced in the use by the executive of the powers of appointment and removal. Appointments are to be referred to a Court of Confirmation, whose members are to serve without salary for a long term, being appointed by the executive and confirmed by the Upper House. Its functions are the confirmation or rejection of all the executive appointments, except those of its own members. The Court of Impeachment and Removal is declared to be the key to the whole proposed system, since it "introduces a direct method of applying adequate responsibility to the executive and legislative agencies." It is to consist of three members appointed by the executive for life, subject to removal only by impeachment before the Supreme Court. Its members are to be excluded from appointment to any other office even after resignation, and alternates are to be appointed to succeed immediately on the death, resignation or removal of any serving members. This court is to have summary and absolute power of removal over both elected and appointed officers, and no power of appointment; it is to have also the power to dissolve the legislative assemblies and order new elections.

Not less radical is the proposed differentiation of the elective franchise. While insisting that the suffrage is not a natural right, but is wholly subject to the interests of the community, the author admits that universal suffrage may be useful, perhaps necessary, where it may serve as a defensive measure against aggression upon personal rights, but urges that it is not a fit means for constructive ends.

The suggested differentiation is as follows: (1) The election of the Upper Houses—which are to have exclusive control of many of the most important subjects of legislation—by limited suffrage. (2) The election of the Lower Houses by universal suffrage. (3) The election of the executive by universal suffrage, except the mayors of municipalities who should be elected by limited suffrage. (4) The stricter and more extensive exclusion of criminals from recovery of citizenship. Intellectual qualifications are rejected for familiar reasons and a vigorous argument is presented in favor of the payment of an income tax, to be determined by law, as the best obtainable suffrage qualification.

This book makes stimulating reading. It is written in a crisp but careless style; the split infinitive seems to be a favorite idiom. In not a few places there is a straining after effect, which ends in smartness rather than brilliancy. The worshiper of democracy will find here slight comfort. Democracy in its pure form is declared to be "polyglot government without head or brains." No heed is given to the educative value of government by the people; to an unwarranted

extent the "proletariat" is represented as "striking at the wealth of the community," while wealth is too readily accepted as a trustworthy evidence of intelligence and public spirit. Nevertheless keen analysis abounds, and both diagnosis and prescription well merit consideration. That the prompt application of several of the remedies would have salutary effects admits of no doubt.

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Report of the Educational Commission of the City of Chicago, pp. xvi, 248. Chicago, 1899.

The radical and far-reaching improvements in the school system urged in the Report of the Chicago Educational Commission * embody the conclusions of advanced educators and are based on the experience of many cities. The investigation in Chicago brought to light "defects so vital that criticism would have been heard in larger measure from the people if an inadequate plan of administration had not left them in comparative ignorance of conditions." The result of a year's work, by a commission representative of the Board of Education, the City Council, and outside citizens, is an outline of statutory organization, rules of government, and principles of development for a city school system.

The theme of the report seems to be that present results are not proportionate to the time, the effort, and the money that are being expended by the Board and its professional employes as well as by the children.

The application of business principles to school administration which leads the commission to separate legislative from executive duties, is the most important recommendation in the report. The powers and duties assigned by the Commission, respectively, to the board and its executives, are such as to concentrate authority and responsibility in the same hands. The freedom of the board from petty details is also intended to secure for it the membership of those citizens best able to mould educational policy. The exceedingly high standards of qualification by which the appointment, promotion, and discharge of the teaching force are to be determined should assure favorable conditions for the progress of education.

Having eliminated defects in the machinery of the system by a new organization, attention is turned to the course of study. The curriculum is declared to be overcrowded. The course is to be simplified, unified, and made flexible as to promotions. It is to be enriched by the addition of constructive work, and facilitated by kindergarten training.

* Chicago, 1899.